A LETTER FROM MERCURIUS CIVICUS TO MERCURIUS RUSTICUS:

OR,

LONDONS CONFESSION

but not Repentance.

SHEWING,

That the beginning and the obstinate pursuance of this accursed horrid Rebellion is principally to be ascribed *to that Rebellious City.*

——— *En quò discordia Cives!*
Perduxit miseros: Virg. *Egl.* 1.

Printed, 1643.

ITTRO

A LETTER FROM MERCVRIVS CIVICVS TO MERCURIUS RUSTICUS.

Good Brother RUSTICUS,

THough there have been ſome unkind Iarrs between my Brother *Aulicus* and me, yet my earneſt deſire is to keep a good underſtanding between your ſelfe and me: I cannot but congratulate your happineſſe that breath in ſo free an ayre, wherein it is Lawfull to heare and ſpeake *truth*? O *Truth*, Sacred *Truth*, whether art thou fled? if you at *Oxford* did not give her entertainment I know not where ſhe would find a place of aboad, for here at *London* we Fortifie againſt her to keep her out: Nay with us in the City it is come to that paſſe, that *it is almoſt as dangerous to ſpeak truth as Love the King:* you know how famous we have been here for publiſhing and Printing Lyes, he that will not lye to advantage the great Cauſe in hand, is not amongſt us thought fit to have acceſſe either to the Pulpit or the Preſſe. And therefore when I was firſt ſet on work to Communicate Intelligence to the Kingdom to indeare my ſelf to them that imployed me, I played my part reaſonable well, I Lyed my ſhare; but at laſt admoniſhed by our Brother *Aulicus*, and to confeſſe to you, touched a little in conſcience, I began by degrees to take off my ſelf from that unwarrantable courſe, and did here and there ſprinkle a little truth, yet very ſparingly,

leaſt I ſhould be thought to be turned *Malignant* or *Caualeer:* but as little as it was, it was diſtaſtfull: for hereupon Mr *Pim* and the Remainder of the *five Members*, aſſiſted by Mr *Martyn*, illiterate *Serjant Wild*, *Peard* (that hath leſſe Law if it be poſſible then the Serjant) and ſome others that have ſworne never to indure truth again, ſince they have thriven ſo well by Lyes, moved at the Cloſe Committee to have me ſilenced: yet to blind the world, as if their ayme were not at me alone, they involve others in the ſame doome, and for Intelligencers, by an Order they bunge up all our mouthes at once: yet knowing how much it concerned them that the old trade went on, though ſince they have permitted another to make uſe of my name, yet at firſt they gave authority to one man only to lye for all the reſt: him they call the *Parliament Scout*, not *Bulmore* the Scout that was ſlaine at *Whetley* bridge neere you at *Oxford*, I meane not him, yet if you look into his weekly Pamphlets, you would ſweare that he had no more braines in his head, then *Bulmore* had when they were ſhott out.

This man indeed tels you ſome truths, but ſuch antiquated ones that they were ſtale newes above a Thouſand yeares ſince, as that on the borders of *Scotland*, there dwelt a People whom they called *Picts*, that there was a Wall built between *England* and *Scotland*, and the like: while he keeps at this diſtance and comes no nearer, he never needs feare that the heeles of the times may chance daſh out his teeth: he may write on: but if once he come to publiſh any Moderne truths, as that his Excellency durſt come no nearer *Oxford* then *Thame*, that *Fairfax* is beaten in the North, and *Waller* and *Warwick* in the Weſt, or the like, he were beſt look to himſelfe, he may read his fate in us: Theſe new Reformers will never Brooke it.

Since therefore we are here inſlaved either to Lyes or Silence, that the world may not for ever be kept hoodwinkt, goe on (I pray) as you have begun to let her ſee the Miſeries under which ſhe dayly ſuffers. But me thinks it would be a work well worthy your endeavour, to let the Country ſee not only their miſeries, but to point them out the fountain and ſource from whence they flow: This diſcovery hath been within me as *wine that hath no vent, ready to burſt like new bottles*, yet as full as I am, I dare not vent my thoughts concerning this *here*, but have choſe rather to whiſper them

them to you: for 'tis in vaine to dissemble it, your sad stories of the Ruine and devastation of the Country are ecchoed in our Streets, and though we beare it out in a Vaunting way, as if these things concerned not us, yet I assure you there are many soules that mourne in private, (for in publique we must be as madd as the rest, or else we suffer as *Malignants*) as knowing how justly we stand charged with all those Calamities, which the sword of Rebellion hath brought upon you: I never heare that of the *Prophet* read, *Woe to the bloody City, it is full of Lyes and Robbery*, but I cannot choose but think of *London*.

It is too too manifest, nor can it be denied, but that all your Sufferings have been derived from us: when Common-Prayer was in use amongst us, I remember such a Query in one of the *Prophets*, *is there any evill in the City and the Lord hath not done it?* But you may aske, is there any evill in the *Country*, and the *City* hath not done it? You have made us Rich and Populous, and we in foule Ingratitude have prodigally powred out both our Wealth and Strength to make you and our selves wretched.

Well might the Incendiaries of this present Rebellion (so I dare call it to you, though I dare not speak so plain here) bring violent affections, eager endeavours to set this flourishing *Church*, and *Kingdom* in Combustion, but alas! all this had signified little or nothing, had they not gained our consent, and we resigned up our persons and estates to their disposall to be made the base instruments to compasse their most Trayterous designes: Could *Say* or *Pim*, and their beggerly Confederates have found moneys to Levie an Army against their Leige Lord, that had not money to pay their owne Debts, had not we furnished them? If we shall without partiality consider the severall helps which this City hath Contributed to this Rebellion, we must confesse *that both the beginning and continuance of this unnaturall VVarre may be ascribed to us:* So that in all *England* there is but one *Rebell*, & that is *London*. To reflect a little & look back on those times whē this Rebellion was but an *Embrio*, or else did begin to creep into the world, (for we may not think that this Monster was a Bratt of a suddain birth) though it were conceived (some *Say*) neare *Banbury*, and shaped in *Grays-Inne-Lane*, where the undertakers for the Isle of *Providence* did meet and plott it, yet you know it was put out to Nurce to *London*.

For *first* you may well remember when the *Puritans* here did as much abominate the *Military-yard*, or *Artillery-Garden*, as *Paris-Garden* it ſelf: they would not mingle with the Prophane: but at laſt when it was inſtill'd into them, that the bleſſed Reformation intended could not be effected but by the ſword, theſe places were inſtantly filled with few or none but men of that Faction: We were wont you know to make very merry at their Trayning, ſome of them in two yeares practice could not be brought to diſcharge a Muſket without winking: We did little imagine then, that they were ever likely to grow formidable to the State, or advance to that Strength, as to be able to give the King Battle, but after a while they beganne to affect, yea and Compaſſe the chief Offices of Command, ſo that when any prime Commanders dyed, new men were elected, wholy devoted to that Faction; and it became a Generall Emulation amongſt them who ſhould buy the moſt, and the beſt Armes.

Secondly, that they might fill all places of authority with ſuch as ſhould advance the deſigne, all care is taken to fill the Bench of Aldermen, and the common-Councell, with men diſaffected to the Government, both Eccleſiaſticall, and Civill. To this purpoſe if *London* did not afford men bad enough, they would call them from other Corporations, as *Alderman Atkins* from *Norwitch* and the like: but if he had ſeen *Amſterdam* or had been an Adventurer to *New England*, or been the hoſt of the *ſilenced Miniſters*, he was a Iewell: Nay ſome will tell you, and I am much of their Opinion, that the Faction have had ſo great a Care of this, that they have choſen ſome men to places of the beſt eſteeme in the City, whoſe eſtates were not able to defray the Charges, but have been ſupported by a Common Purſe, and if you have not forgotten it, there was a Motion you know made, That *Honeſt men*, ſo they call themſelves, might beare the *Magiſtracy*, and the Citty beare the *Expences*: ſome men thought that this propoſall had eſpeciall Relation to thoſe two beggerly Captaines, *Ven* and *Manuring*, who having nothing either within or without them to render them fit for government, yet in this Rebellious City, were thought *moſt fit*, becauſe *moſt averſe* from what was by Law eſtabliſhed.

Thirdly, becauſe all this could not Compaſſe the end they aymed at, unleſſe the *Clergy* did conſpire with them and contribute

their

their help, and because they found very few of the *Setled Clergy* here in the Citty, (except Dr *Gough*, M. *Iackeſon*, *Votier*, *Simons*, *Walker*, and a very few more) Compliant with their indeavours, they laboured by all meanes poſſible, to introduce that *Gibbus* or *excreſcency*, of the Clergy called *Lecturers* over their *Parochiall Miniſters* heads, whoſe maintenance being dependent (yet a portion by double Leaſes and other Sacralegious devices ſtolne from their owne Parſons, ſo that the barren Mountaines of *Wales* afford not ſo many poore, and as Sir *Benjamin Rudyer* was wont to call them, ſcandalous Livings together, as are to be found within the Walls of *London*) muſt Preach ſuch Doctrine as may foment diſloyalty, and inſtill ſuch Principles into their Auditors as may firſt diſpoſe them *to*, and after ingage them *in* Rebellion, when things were ripe, or elſe they ſhall want bread to put into their heads: The Truth is, Brother *Ruſticus*, theſe Military preparations had effected Little, had not the fire been given from the Pulpit.

And becauſe they ſaw how Succeſſefull this Courſe was, and what ſtrange effects it wrought in our City, a *Fourth* deſigne was, to place ſome of their Emiſſaries in all *Corporations* (thoſe Nurceries of Schiſme and Rebellion) and in the moſt eminent parts of the Kingdom; for this purpoſe a moſt ſpecious and pious pretence is held out to the World, the buying in of *Impropriations*: *Feoffees* are appointed, men of publique Callings, as *Clergy-men*, *Lawyers*, and *Cittizens*, whoſe imployments muſt needs render them knowne to many, and men of noted *Zeale* in the Opinion of the World, (ſuch as it was) thereby to gaine the reputation of Religion to the undertaking: the Lecturers (and others too) deceived by the outſide of this Project, ſtirre up the Rich and well affected to Contribute Liberally to this ſo religious an Act, of redeeming the Lords portion out of Lay-hands, and amongſt the laſt Counſells given to the dying (and then commonly they make deepeſt impreſſion) This was never forgotten: by this meanes great Summes were advanced, and the World ſtood at gaze to ſee the great returne which would be made to the Church of *that* which Sacraledge had made a *Lay-Fee*: after any were redeemed how long the revenues were held in the Feoffees hands, what pittances were allowed to the Incumbents, how they *robb'd Peter*

ter to pay Paul, and eſtabliſhed a Lecture perhaps in *Cornewall*, with the Tith of a Parſonage in *Yorkeſhire*, or the like, appertaines not to my preſent purpoſe.

The thing that I ſhall obſerve unto you is, the great care and art uſed in fitting men for their ſervice, and then diſpoſing and ſecuring them in their Imployment, from any Moleſtation of Eccleſiaſticall Cenſures. To this end, *Firſt*, they account it neceſſary to plant two *Seminaries*, the *firſt* an *Initiary Seminary*, to this purpoſe they project the buying of a Headſhip in one of the *Univerſities* for ſome eminent man of their owne party, under whoſe Influence their *Novices* might be trained up in their *Myſteries*: though ſome houſes in both Vniverſities were notorious enough in this kind before, and might have ſaved them this Labour, as *Magdaline Hall* and *New-Inne* in *Oxford*, and *Emannell Colledge*, and *Katherine Hall* in *Cambridge*.

The *ſecond* was a *Practique Seminary*, and that was at St *Antholines* here in *London*, and did *in Spiritualibus* anſwer to the *Artilery Garden*, being a place to traine up their young *Emiſſaries*, where they might take an Eſſay of their affections and abilities, and by the bewitchments of *gaine* and *popular applauſe* deeply ingage them in their Faction: and from this *Seminary* were moſt of their new bought Impropriations fill'd. And as they had their Salary *from* ſo they were ſubordinate *to* a *Claſſis* or *Clero-laicall Conſiſtory*, who had power to tranſplant their moſt hopefull Imps either into their purchaſed Impropriations, or elſe into a Lecture in ſome of the moſt populous places of the Kingdome, maintained by a borrowed portion from an Impropriation elſewhere: yet this *Conſiſtory*, did not in their choyce, ſtrictly tye themſelves to the plants of their owne Nurceries, but if any man had been a *Pſeudomartyr* for their cauſe, or had been ſentenced by the high Commiſſion for Non-Conformity, or by ſome Notorious undertaking had evidenced and declared himſelfe, and irrevocably without apparant note of Infamy and Levity (if he retracted) ingaged himſelfe to their party: or had Letters Teſtimoniall from *Patriarch White* of *Dorcheſter*, Mr *Cotton* of *Boſton*, or the like, (for *Calamy* and *Marſhall* were not, as it is ſaid of *Dathan* and *Abiram*, as yet *famous in the Congregation*:) This man was a choice plant and fit for their Soyle.

Secondly,

Secondly, being planted abroad, their second care was, that whatsoever they Preached, though never so derogatory to the Government either *Ecclesiasticall* or *Civill*, yet they might be free from molestation, and Preach on, without danger of loosing their maintenance by Ecclesiasticall censure. To this purpose they attempt the buying a Commissaries place *there*, *where* they intended to make any speciall plantation: who being after their own hearts, might winke at their irregularities, and though the Church-wardens should by chance be so honest to regard their oathes, and present them, yet by the purchased or bribed Commissary they may secure them from the danger of the Court.

Lastly, for feare least any of their Creatures should fall from them, and desert the Cause, as some had done, when they had got what they looked for; wisely they provide, that their maintenance shall be dependent, on the pleasure of their good Masters the Feoffees, alterable by addition, or substraction, according to their merits, or demerits, and their persons subject to be Cashеered if they Preach not to the advancement of their holy cause, and according to the directions sent unto them from the Conclave of their Elders at *London*: That so as much as humane Policy could invent, they might (to use Mr *Foxlies* own words speaking in this argument) *Establish the Gospell by a perpetuall decree*.

When all things were now ready, their *Emissaries* having prepared the hearts of the people to Rebellion, first alienating them, by frequent slandring the footsteps of Gods annoynted, decrying the Government both of Church and State, fomenting the causeless discontents, and aggravating the necessities of State, with the odious names of *Tyranny*, *Arbitrary power*, *Violation* of the Subjects *Liberty*, and *Property*, and likewise possessed the credulous multitude, that the conformeable *Clergy* had made a Revolt from the *Protestant Religion*, and had an earnest intention to introduce *Popery*; at last was fulfilled that Prophecy of Iudicious M. *Hooker*, towards the end of the Preface to that incomparable work of *Ecclesiasticall Policy*, *That after the Puritans have first resolved that attempts for Discipline are lawfull, it will follow in the next place to be disputed, what may be attempted against Superiors who will not have the Scepter of that discipline to*

rule over them? Which *Prophecy* we see exactly fulfilled in our dayes, for the Puritans having first rebelled by a *Proxey*, they then thought it seasonable to take an essay what entertainment the doctrine *for taking up Armes against the King* would find amongst their Disciples.

To this purpose Doctor *Downing*, a man fitted for any base imployment, and one that (what ever he counterfeited) ever looked awry on the Church, in which (being setled and in peace) he could never hope to advance farther then *Vicar* of *Hackeney*, was to feele the Pulse of the Citty: while therefore discontents runne high in the *North*, the *Scots* having in a hostile manner entered the Kingdome, the People every where, especially in *London*, stirr'd up by some agents to Petition the King; for this Parliament, D. *Downing* Preaching to the Brotherhood of the *Artilery Garden* positively affirmed, *that for defence of Religion and Reformation of the Church, it was lawfull to take up armes against the King.*

He having thus Kindled the fire in the City, for feare of being questioned (for as yet it was not lawfull to Preach Treason) retired privately to the Earle of *Warwicks* house in *Essex*, the common Randevouz of all Schysmaticall Preachers, this Sermon in every place administring matter of discourse, People censured it, as they stood affected, which gave occasion to the Ringleaders of this faction to enter upon a serious examination, and study of this case of Conscience: and it seems, consulting the Iesuites on the one side, and the Rigid Puritans on the other, or indeed, because without admitting this doctrine, all their former endeavours would vanish into smoak, they stood doubtfull no longer, but closed with these two contrary Factions, yet shaking hands in this poynt of Rebellion, and subscribed to D. *Downings* doctrine, as an Evangelicall truth.

And that in this I may not be thought to speak as if I were a Parliament intelligencer *still*, for the truth of this, I appeale to M. *Stephen Marshall* himselfe, who being pressed by M. *Simons*, that heretofore he was of another opinion, ingenuously confessed it, but withall affirmed, that on D. *Downings* Sermon, having a hint given them, the Brethren did enter upon an examination of the Doctrine, and upon examination found it true: Though the truth

truth is, they whiſpered this doctrine long before in their Conventicles, but never durſt proclaime it in their Pulpits, before they ſaw an army in the bowells of the Kingdom to make it good by the ſword, and a Faction in a Parliament comeing on, that would Authorize Rebellion under this pretence, by their Votes and Ordinances.

After it was once owned as a Truth, and a Truth, firſt ſcann'd, and then avowed by *Marſhall*, *Calamy*, *Downing*, and Colonell *Cornelius Burges*, and the reſt of their Elders, *That for the cauſe of Religion it was lawfull for the Subject to take up Armes againſt his Lawfull Soveraigne*, good God! how violently did the People of *London* ruſh into Rebellion? how plyable did the Faction in Parliament find them, to raiſe Tumults? make outcries for juſtice? call for innocent blood? ſubſcribe and preferre Petitions againſt the holy Lyturgy? and the Hierarchy, Root and branch, if Doctor *Burges* did but hold up his finger to his *Mirmidons*? or Captain *Ven* ſend his ſummons by his Wife, to aſſemble the *Zelots* of the City?

But becauſe all other attempts had been to little purpoſe, while the power of the ſword remained in His hands, into which *God* had put it, the Heads of this Rebellion conſider, that it was more ſeazable by ſecret practiſes, to render the King unable to withſtand them, then for them openly to oppoſe the King; therefore their main indeavour is to wreſt the power of the *Militia* out of the Kings hands by degrees, and to put it *there*, *where* they might place the greateſt confidence.

But this was a work not eaſily effected, great Changes could not be uſhered in but by great preparations to make way for them; hereupon the Faction in Parliament make it their firſt work to make this City wholly *theirs*, that one ſoule as it were might animate both *repreſentative bodies*, That of the *Kingdome*, and this of the *City*: knowing that it was in vaine for the Faction in Parliament to *Contrive* unleſſe the Faction in the Common-Councell in *London* would *execute*: for though there were ſome flouriſhes made from *Buckingham-ſhire* in the behalfe of M. *Hampden*, and from *Leiceſter-ſhire* in the behalfe of Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*; and the like, yet the ſtanding Guard, and power of the Faction in Parliament, on which they relied, to affront the King, and ſave them-

ſelves from the juſtice of the Lawes, was that fixed here in *London*.

And becauſe where feare doth poſſeſſe the multitude, it makes them work not like agents, but like inſtruments, and moulds them to a Temper, fit to receive impreſſions, from thoſe, in whoſe wiſdoms or Loves they repoſe themſelves, making them pliable to all directions and Counſells, which ſhall be given by *them, whom* they eſteeme *Patriots* of the Common-wealth, and *Aſſertors* of the *Liberties*, and *ſafety of the People*, all poſſible art was uſed to poſſeſſe the Kingdome, but eſpecially the City with ſtrange *Iealouſies* and *Feares*, and therefore beſides the often inculcating the fained intention of introducing Popery, great preparations in *France*, and *Denmarke* to invade the Kingdome, to inable the King to governe Arbitrarily, to the ſubverſion of the fundamentall *Lawes* of the Kingdome, together with the *Liberty* and *Property* of the Subject: (Theames that did continually poſſeſſe both the *Pulpit* and the *Preſſe*, which how true, though moſt impudently affirmed, the World now ſees:) each day did produce a diſcovery of ſome new Treaſon, and to indeare the City the more it muſt be ſo contrived, That in theſe monſtrous fictions you ſhall continually find the *Parliament* and *City* fained to be involved in the ſame danger.

To poſſeſſe the Kingdom how mortally the *Parliament* and *City* (the two vitall parts of the Kingdome as *Pym* calls them) were threatned; in the time of the *Receſſe* they take opportunity of the Petition delivered by the Troopers from the North, and by an order from the Committee, they appoynt ſtrong watches to be kept in all high-wayes Villages, and Townes within twenty miles of *London*, that Travellers into all parts of the Kingdom, paſſing through theſe Guards, might report when they came home, in how much danger the *Parliament* and *City* were for their ſakes.

And that the Credulous People might not think but that this was done on good grounds, a Letter is written from the Parliament Commiſſioners in *Scotland*, M. *Hampden*, M. *Fiennes* and the reſt to M. *Pym* and the *cloſe Committee* here, to inform them of a ſtrange conſpiracy diſcovered in *Edenburgh*, to ſeize on the perſons of the *Marqueſſe Hamilton*, and the *Earles* of *Argile*,

and

and *Lanericke*: the Committee wisely considering that it was no strange thing for Treason to make a step out of *Scotland* into *England*, instantly provided against it, (at least so they would be thought) by publishing an Order commanding the Iustices of Peace of *Middlesex*, *Surrey*, and *Southwarke*, to secure the City and the places adjoyning from all danger by strong guards, well armed, and give this reason for their Order, *Because the Mischievous designes and conspiracies lately discovered in Scotland against some Principall and Great men there, by some of the Popish Faction, gives just occasion to suspect, that they may maintain correspondency here and practise the like mischiefe.*

Presently upon the neck of this M. *Pim's* life (to the great detriment of the Kingdom and Nation) is indangered by a contagious plaister of Plague-sore, wrapt up in a letter and directed to him: but God be thanked, the infection did not take, though throwing away the plaister only, he put the letter in his Pocket: he being reserved for another manner of death (we hope) then to dye privately in his bed, with a few spectators to bear witnesse of his end.

Then comes a Tailor out of a ditch in *Finsbury* fields, having miraculously escaped, being runne *nine times* besides the body, (for like a wise Tailor, wheresoever he made ilotholes, he would be sure to make none in his own skinne, though to gain credit to the relation:) and he tells a strange discovery of a Treason, which he overheard two men talking of, a Conspiracy against the life of the Lord *Say*, and some of the chief Members of both Houses: A thing so improbable, indeed so Ridiculous, that had they not thought that the world stood prepared to receive any thing for truth which came from them, 'twas a wonder how they durst own it. And now I have named a Taylor it puts me in mind of *Perkins* my Lord *Say's* Taylor, who at a Common-Councell produced a copy of a Letter from an I know not what Irish Lord in *Paris*, to such an other Irish Lord in *London*, intimating some strange designe against the City, which took as passionately with the People, as if it had been certified from M. *Strickland* his worship himselfe, *Embassador* for the two Houses unto the States-Generall of the united Provinces. But the most monstrous of all the rest, and that which if the People had not been accursed

to believe Lies, was the invisible Army quartered under ground at *Ragland Castle*, discovered by *John Davis*, servant to Mistris *Lewis* an Inne-keeper at *Rosse*, to Alderman *Atkins* Coachman: except the blowing up the Thames with Gunpowder to drowne the City, one of the most dangerous Plots that ever affrighted *London*.

And as by their own fictions they endeavoured to possesse the People with Iealousies, so whatsoever the King did never wanted a sinister interpretation, glossed to the multitude, to traduce His actions, as if in them there were ever some evill intended to the City and Parliament. When the King removed *Belfore* from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and placed Sir *Thomas Lunsford* in that charge, the Citizens and their Wives could not sleep quietly in their bedds, for feare of having their houses beaten down about their eares. To satisfy their Clamours, though nothing were objected against him, the King reassumes the Trust, and presently deposites it with Sir *Iohn Byron*: the Faction were as ill satisfied in him, yet it was not easy what to object against him: nay it was a Query that did not a little trouble them in what to quarrell him: at last Lieutenant *Hooker* the *Aquavitæ* man, and *Nicholson* the *Chandler*, complain in the Common-Councell, that since Sir *Iohn Byron* came to be Lieutenant of the Tower, the Mint (to the great prejudice and dishonour of the Kingdome) stood still. Those that knew what trade these men drove, by the poor retaile of Broomes, Candles, & Mustard, their chief merchandize, to improve brasse farthings into Groats and Sixpences, accounted the Objection as inconsiderable as the Authors that alleadged it, yet as mean and false as it was, it served some mens turnes to slander the King to His People, and raise a Clamor. The King out of the abundant goodnesse of His Nature, hoping to winne them by some condescendments, (which now the world sees is impossible: Puritans being of another manner of Temper then to be overcome with kindnesse) removes Sir *Iohn Byron*, and conferres this great trust on Sir *Iohn Coniers*, a man of whom the Faction it seems conceived better hopes, and indeed hitherto if you consider his exactions upon the Kings friends in his custody, or retaining the name of Lieutenant, but resigning the power contrary to his expresse oath, and that on his own Petition

to

to the Train bands of the City, he hath not given them any occasion to repent them of their acquiescence in him.

It were endlesse, *Brother Rusticus*, to relate all the means used to heighten the fears of this miserable City, and by consequence of the Kingdome: especially after the Faction in Parliament, had shewn them the way by publishing that great Buggbeare to affright the People, the *Remonstrance of the state of the Kingdome*.

At last to make experiment what good effect all these arts had produced the main Engineeres resolve on Twelfe night to see 1641.
what partee they had in the City, and what assistance they might expect (if occasion served) by giving a false Allarme. To this purpose in the night a Rumour is divulged and suddenly dispersed through the City, That the King and *Cavaleeres* with fifteen hundred horse were coming to surprize the City: you would wonder to consider how this report prevailed, insomuch that in an instant *London* was in Armes, no lesse then 50000 or 60000 men ready provided to incounter they knew not what: the Women (who as M: *Peters* did instruct thē in the Pulpit, have hugg'd their Husbands into this Rebellion) provide hot water (besides what they sprinkled for feare) to throw on the *Cavaleeres*: joynt-stooles, foormes, and empty tubbes are thrown into the Streets to intercept the Horse. Had you been at the Lord Majors that night, as I was, you might upon the Aldermens coming to him, to consult against the common danger, easily perceive which of the Aldermen were privy to this designe, and who were not thought fit to be intrusted with so great a Mystery: some of them (and when time serves I can tell you their names) came so neat as if they had spent the whole day to be trimme at midnight, their beards put into a feasting posture, not a haire awry, a cleare demonstration that they had not consulted their Pillowes that night: Their Ruffes set as compleatly as if they had been to dine with the Masters of their Companies, or were prepared to beare a part in my Lord Majors shew: but the rest that slept in the simplicity of their hearts, and went to bed, so farre from misconceiving their gratious Soveraigne to have any evill intention against the City, that they thought themselves safe under his Protection, these came in a farre different garbe, one came in his nightcap and

forgot

forgot his Hat, another had his Hat, but did not remember to take his Ruffe, one trots along in his slippers, another for haste not staying to garter his stockings, had lost them had not his shooes been on: so that 'twas easy to distinguish who were *Confiding Aldermen*, as they call them, and who *Malignants*.

And as by degrees they wrought the people to this height of Iealousie, so by degrees too, proportionable to their Iealousies did they disarme the King, and Arme themselves. At first they did only wrest the Sword out of the Kings Hand, but as their party grew stronger, they turned the poynt upon him. When their Feares were but young, the Faction of the City desired no more, but a strong guard of the Train-Bands, and this they called *The Safety of the City*, when their Feares grew Stronger, then in a Common-Councell they move for *The Posture of defence*, which was the Egge of which afterwards was hatched that *Cockatrice* of the *Militia*.

But because it was impossible to disarme the *King*, as long as the *Lord Major* stood firme in his Loyalty, and invested in his power; their maine work therefore was, first, to pack a Common-Councell of men of their own Faction, and then by advancing the power of their Common-Councell (by the assistance of the *House of Commons*) above the *Lord Mojors*, to draw the Voting of all Queryes, and the Resolution of all doubts, or matters under debate, unto the decision of *a Major part*; and if any Obstacle lay in their way to these ends, which was not in their power to remove, presently at a dead lift, *Penington* or *Ven* or *Vassells* bring an order from the *House of Commons*, which never failed to determine all things, for their own Creatures. And because the Practices of these men deserve not to be buried in Silence, I shall give you a short account, how the power of the *Militia* of the City, came to be taken out of the *Lord Maior*, and *Court of Aldermens* hands, and seated in a *Maior part* of the *Commons*; In which you shall see how a Faction in the *City* conspired with a Faction in the *Parliament*, and this Faction in the *Parliament* with that in the *City*, untill between both, the King was inforced, for fear of their tumults, and Insolencies, to withdraw himselfe into the Country.

The time of Election of Common-Councell men comming

on, at St *Thomas* day 1641, when theſe feares and Ielouſies had diſtracted the City, it was no difficult matter, for this active faction, to inſtill into their fellow Citizens how much it Concerned them to make choyce of *Godly men* (ſo they miſcall themſelves) and ſuch as would oppoſe the *Popiſh Party*, under which Notion, they Comprehend all ſuch as ſtand well affected to the Government eſtabliſhed, whether *Eccleſiaſticall*, or *Civill*. They accuſe the Old Common-Councell-men, as men not Zelous for Religion, Ready to comply with the Court for loanes of Monyes, and which was worſe, many had not only ſet their hands *to*, but were active *in* promoting the Intended Petition, for *Epiſcopacy*, and the book of *Common-Prayer*. Theſe Objections (which duly conſidered had been ſo many convincing arguments for them) ſo prevailed, with theſe ſilly men, (who thought all to be in danger, unleſſe the government were put into new hands) that in moſt Wards, the old Common-Councell-men were turned out, and new choſen in, wholy devoted to the *Puritan faction*; eſpecially in thoſe Wards, where their *Aldermen* inclined that way: amongſt theſe, the moſt remarkable were *Atkins*, *Wollaſtone*, *George Garrat* the Draper, *Werdner*, and *Towſe*. Now outgoe all the grave, diſcreet, well-affected Citizens, as Sr *George Benyon*, *M. Drake*, *M. Roger Clarke*, *M. Roger Gardner*, *Deputy Withers*, *M. Cartwright*, and others, and in their ſtead are choſen *Fowke the Traytor*, *Ryley the ſqueeking Bodyes-maker*, *Perkins the Taylor*, *Norminton the Cutler*, young beardleſſe *Coulſon* the Dyer, *Gill* the Wine-Cooper, and *Iupe* the *Laten-man* in *Crooked-Lane*, *Beadle* of the Ward, in the place of *Deputy Withers*. So that a man would ſwear, they meant to fullfill, what a wiſe *Lord Keeper* once ſpake to a Recorder, of *London*, dyning with him, upon occaſion of a *Wood Cock-Pye* brought to the Table, with the heads looking out of the Lid, Mr *Recorder, you are welcome to a Common-Councell.*

Theſe new men, though choſen on S. *Thomas* day, are never returned, by the Conſtant cuſtome of the City, before the *Munday* after *Twelfe-day*: nor have power to ſit in the Common-Councell, or concurre in doing any act, before the Indentures of their Election be returned from the Wardmote Inqueſt to the Town-Clark, and a Warrant is ſued forth from the *Lord Major*,

to the Serjeant of the Chamber, to Summon them. Yet in the Yeare 1641, the ſmall ſpace of time between S. *Thomas* day, and the day of this Returne, was a very *active* time: and that which layd the Ground-work, of that Revolt of this City, from their Loyalty to Rebellion, which preſently followed. Therefore Impatient to ſtay the time of their ordinary calling, and knowing the Neceſſity of their preſence for the advancement of the work in hand, when the King, gave order to the *Lord Maior*, for calling that Common-Councell held *December*, 3. 1641, when the Lord *Newburge* was ſent from the *King*, to give the City notice of the late Tumults at *VVeſtminſter*, and *VVhite Hall*, and to recommend unto them the Care of preventing the like diſorders, for the time to come. To this Common-Councell, comes *Fowke*, and with him, all the Tribe of this new choyce, and mingle with the old; which being an Intruſion without preſident, was earneſtly oppoſed by *them*, that loved the ancient order, and honour of the City; and foreſaw the Innundation breaking in upon them, yet out of Reſpect to the *Kings* Meſſage, and that *Lord* that brought it, the controverſie for the preſent was huſhed up, and generally, they applyed themſelves to give diſpatch to the Anſwer, which they were to returne to the *King*, which was accordingly done, and the Anſwer preſently after publiſhed in Print.

So, on the 5. of of *January*, being the day after the *King* went to the Houſe of Commons to demand the *Five Members*, a Common Councell being called by the Kings direction to the *Lord Maior*, to which himſelfe in Perſon came, to impart unto them, the reaſons that induced him to goe to the Houſe the day before, and to admoniſh them, not to harbour or protect theſe men in the City. Thither came *Fowke* and his new Elected, but not admitted Brethren. *Fowke* having prepared a Saucy, Inſolent Speech, to make unto the *King*, concerning *Feares*, and *Ielouſies*, touching the *Members* accuſed, The *Priviledges of Parliament*, and that they might not be tryed but in a *Parliamentray* way. The *King* heard him with admired patience, and whereas ſo diſloyall expreſſions, Iuſtly deſerved his Royall Indignation, to have ſent him to *Newgate*, or *Bride-well*, (eſpecially interpoſing in that Repreſentative body of which, as yet, he was no member.) The *King* only

only returned this ſhort, gracious Anſwer, bidding him and the reſt, *to aſſure themſelves, That they ſhould have a Iuſt Tryall, according to the Lawes of the Land*; adding, *that they were dangerous men, and that neither he, nor they, could be in ſafety, as long as theſe men were permitted to go on in their way.*

It was obſerved by ſome, very wiſe men, there preſent, that the *King* at His comming to the Common-Councell, was received with Ioy, and acclamations; not much Inferiour to thoſe, at His entrance into the City, on His returne from *Scotland*. But after the reaſon of His comming was known, and the *Puritan Party* had inſtilld into the peoples heads, that the great *Patriots* of the Kingdome were in danger, to be called to a Legall Triall, for Treaſon, at His returne, there was a new face on the Multitude, and inſtead of *God ſave the King*, there was nothing eccho-ed in His eares, but *Priviledges of Parliament*, *Priviledges of Parliament*! *Great is Diana of the Epheſians* was never roared louder. The *King* dined that day at Sheriffe *Garrets*, and the Faction of the Sectaries, Browniſts, and Anabaptiſts having time to aſſemble, after dinner, the houſe was beſet, and the ſtreets leading unto it thronged with people, Thouſands of them flocking from all parts of the City: and the clamour ſtill was *Priviledges of Parliament*: which *cry* firſt taken up that day, and *that*, with ſo good ſucceſſe, never failed to be Objected to the *King*, and inculcated to the *People*, even unto this day, in all their appeales unto them.

This Tumult ſwel'd to that height, that the *King* in His returne was in great danger, the people in a moſt undutifull manner, preſſing upon, looking into, and laying hold on His Coach: nay, in defiance of His ſacred Perſon, and Authority, that ſeditious Pamphlet of *VValkers*, *To your Tents O Iſraell*, was thrown either into, or very near His Coach: Inſomuch, that thoſe few friends, which the King had in the City, were hartily glad when they heard that the *King* was ſafely arrived at *VVhite Hall*: for I aſſure you, His faſt friends here in the City, as the never enough honoured Sir *Richatd Gurney*, and Sir *Thomas Gardner* the *Recorder* were in great danger, being purſued with outcryes, as *Remember the Proteſtation*, others calling them *halfe Proteſters*,

nay the *Lord Maior* had his Chaine torne from his neck by a Zelous Siſter.

This very day, the two Houſes (the leaders in both) thinking themſelves unſafe at *Weſtminſter*, affrighted with their own guilt, reſolve to take Sanctuary in *London*, knowing, that what ever they had done, or ever ſhould doe, though never ſo derogatory to the King, never ſo contrary to Law, yet the Puritan Faction in the City would afford them not only protection, but power and aſſiſtance. Both Houſes therefore adjourn, untill the *Tuesday* following, and caſt themſelves into a Committee, to meet at *Guild-Hall*, or *Grocers-Hall*.

To the Committee at *Grocers hall*, come the *Five Members* in great Triumph, guarded, and attended by the Train-bands, and a ſtrong guard ſet to ſecure the place of their ſitting. Now, if ever, was the fatall conſpiration of *Time* and *Place*, for Coyning new unheard of *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, not only to the ſecuring the perſons of Traitors, but luſtifying Treaſon it ſelfe: For here was (before this day) the unheard of Priviledge of Parliament declared, *That no Member of Parliament ought to be arreſted by any warrant whatſoever, without conſent of that Houſe, whereof he is a Member*, and by the ſame Ordinance it was declared, *That they that ſhall arreſt thoſe Members are enimies to the State: with free liberty granted for all perſons to harbor or converſe with them*: In all which, it is evident, that the power and ſtrength of *London* were made the firſt obſtruction of the free courſe of Iuſtice, and the City made the *Aſylum*, and Sanctuary of thoſe, whom the King had juſtly declared Traytors.

And now, having undoubted experience of the affection of the City, all eyes being turned from *White Hall*, to *Grocers Hall*, where the *Darlings* of the People were pompouſly feaſted, and fawningly courted: on Saturday the eight of *Ian.* 1641. the Committee conſult, how the accuſed Members might come to *Weſtminſter*; the Tueſday following, and without any long debate, it was reſolved upon the queſtion, That *the Sheriffes of London ſhould, and might raiſe a guard of the Traine-bands, for the defence of the King and Parliament; and that they might warrantablely march out of their Liberties*: and that you may ſee that the Scene was right layd, there were ſome ready at that inſtant to make a

tender

tender of the assistance of the *Seamen* and *Mariners*, whose power should guard them by Water, as the Train-bands by Land. Next day being Sunday, every Pulpit that was at their devotion, sounded nothing but the praise of *Kimbolton* and the *Five Members*: inciting the People to stand up in the defence of these *worthies*: else if they permitted the King to take away these to day, he might goe on to seize on as many more to Morrow, untill he had left the Parliament naked of all *good Patriots*, and *Zealous assertors* of Religion, the Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdom.

On Munday the tenth of *Ian.* 1641. the King hearing of these great Preparations, an Army by Land, and a Navy by Sea, which was to cast ancre against *White-Hall*, suddenly, (and certainly guided by an immediat providence, which in a peculiar manner watched over Kings) resolved with his ever glorious *Queen*, the *Prince*, and the *Duke* of *York*, to withdraw to *Hampton Court*, which accordingly He did: not leaving (though well he might) His *curse* behind him upon *London*, as *Henry* the third of *France* did on *Paris*, fowly provoked in the like manner; who flying from the *City* and the *Holy League* the Parallell of this Treason here, at *Chaliot*, turning towards it, said, *I give thee my Curse, disloyall, and ingratefull City, a City which I have alwaies honoured with my continuall abode, a City which I have inriched more then any of my Predecessors, I shall never enter within the compasse of thy walls, but by the ruine of a great and Memorable breach.* The French Hist. p. 805.

The King, now, no better then fled from *London*, and the apparent dangers there, the whole strength of the City remained at the disposall of a Faction of Puritans in the *Parliament*, and a Faction of Puritans in the *City*. That very *Munday*, on which the King for his safety from these Tumults, withdrew himselfe (and 'tis a wonder that any man should be so frontlesse to deny, that for that reason, and that reason only, he withdrew himselfe) was the returne made of the Indentures of the Election of the Common councell-men and if any election was questioned, as some were, and that most justly, 'twas truly observed, that the decision, never failed to goe on their side, who were last elected, whether it were right, or wrong: for whereas formerly all controversies of this Nature were submitted to the determination of the *Lord Major* and *Court of Aldermen* only, now by the impe-

tuouſneſſe, and Clamour of *Fowke*, and his adherents, it muſt be referred to a *Committee* of the Common-councell, the ſame *Committee* which was for *the Safety*, the *firſt* ſtep which the *Puritans* made towards the *Militia*.

Having thus put the King to flight, and by moſt indirect unwarrantable Practices, turned moſt of the diſcreet able men of the City, out of the Common-councell, they beginne to put the City into a *True Poſture of Rebellion*, which they called, the *Poſture of Defence*, and was the *Second* ſtep to the *Militia*: and for the Committee of this *Poſture of Defence*, they nominate *Six Aldermen*, and *twelve Commoners*, moſt of them being of this laſt election. And to have a leader for the intended Rebellion, upon *Ven's* Recommendation; *Skippon* for his Councell, and advice, is added as an *Appendix* to the *Committee*. And though a great debt lay on the Chamber of London, which was often Complained off, but never paid, yet *Serjeant Major Generall Skippon*, (ſo many are the Syllables of his new honours) is ordered by act of Common-councell, to have 300l a yeare, out of the Treaſury for Orphans, during his life, if he ſhould ſo long continue in the City ſervice.

A ſtrong Party being thus made, they beginne to make all manner of Warlike Preparations, and provide Ammunition of all ſorts: they increaſe the number of the Train-bands, from ſixe, to eight Thouſand, and appoynt over them ſixe *Aldermen*, to be *Colonells*, each *Colonell* to have his Captains, Officers, Colours, and Regiment, to be aſſigned him by the Committee for the *Poſture of Defence*: and yet as if all this had been to no purpoſe, unleſſe they can make the *Lord Major* (a ſhrewd rubbe in the way) a meer Cipher, and reduce their *Governor*, to ſo mean a condition, as to be only their *inſtrument*, they intrench upon his power, and invade it many wayes.

Firſt, therefore, whereas the power of ſummoning Common-councells, reſided only in the *Lord Major*, who, with the advice of ſome Aldermen, was to judge of the Reaſons inducing him, to aſſemble this Repreſentative body, now by Orders from the Houſe of *Commons*, at the inſtance of *Pennington*, *Ven*, & *Vaſſells*, the *Lord Major* is not left to his own judgement, when to call or not

not to call a Common-councell, but muſt doe it, as oft as the Men of this Faction ſhall command him: which uſurp'd power, both *Ven* and *Fowkes* have uſed with that inſolency, that when they have required Sir *Richard Gurney* to call a Common-councell, and he hath demanded a reaſon, they have vouchſafed him no other anſwer, then this ſaucy one, *that when he came thither he ſhould know.*

Secondly, as the power of calling Common-councells was truſted by their *Charter & Long preſcription*, with the *Lord Major*, ſo the power of *diſſolving* them, was put into the ſame hands, he might riſe in the middeſt of a debate, & diſmiſſe the aſſembly, & yet was not bound to give them an account, why he did ſo; but now, partly by violence, and partly by pretended orders from the Houſe of *Commons*, he is faſtned to his ſeat, there he muſt ſit, untill *Ven* and *Fowkes* and the reſt have no farther uſe of him.

Thirdly, heretofore, when a Common-councell was called, nothing could be put to the Queſtion or propoſed as the Subject of their deliberation, but what the *Lord Major* by the *Recorder* did offer unto them; but now, when they could not prevaile with the *Major* to command the *Recorder*, nor with the *Recorder* without the *Lord Majors* conſent, to propoſe what the Faction pleaſed, by the Omnipotency of an order, from the Houſe of Commons, they make the *dumb to ſpeak*, what *Ven* and the reſt will have them: or elſe the *Lord Major* and the *Recorder* muſt anſwere it at a Committee.

Laſtly, whereas the *Lord Major* and *Aldermen* ſit apart, from the Commons, and are *Covered*, when the others are *bareheaded*, and have a *Negative Voyce*, the itch of incorporating two in one, hath been as great in the *City*, as ever it was at *Weſtminſter*, and with better ſucceſſe; for the faction *here* (upon the poynt) have caſt all into a common huddle, blending the *Court of Aldermen* with the *Commons*: *Upper*, and *Lower*, ſound as harſhly *here*, as *Weſtward*: And though in outward appearance, they remain two diſtinct Members, of one body, yet, in power, they have made both, *Levell*, Involving the Votes of the *Major* and *Aldermen* in the major part of the Commons.

The *Puritan Faction*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Houſe of Commons*, having thus gotten the *power to call* Common-counells, *power* to

continue

continue them, *power* to *put to the Question* what they please, and *power* to *determine* all by a *Major part*, my *Lord Major* having no more sway then *Perkins the* Taylor, *Ryly the Bodyes maker*, or *Nicholson the Chandler*, they may dispose of the Wealth and Power of the City as they please: now the two Factions openly communicate Counsills, walk hand in hand, that 'twas a question, which was the Parliament, that at *Westminster*, or this at *Guile-Hall*.

Towards the end of *January* 1641. the Commons house Petition'd the *King* touching the *Tower*, the *Forts*, and the *Militia*, and as two strings set to the same tune, though on two severall *Violls*, at a convenient distance, if you touch one, the other by concent renders the same sound, so, the *House* of *Commons*, and the *Common councell* of this City, were now grown to such a Sympathy, that the motions, and endeavours of one, were the work of both: that you would sweare, *Fowkes* was as much a Parliament man *here*, as *Ven* at *Westminster*: for before *February* was tenne daies old, there was a Common-councell held, in which many things were debated: the Court was continued long, till near one of the Clock: at last, tired out with long sitting, and willing to rise, *Ven*, takeing advantage of the present indisposition of the Court, to sit longer, ready to admitte proposalls, without any strict scanning, (especially since whatsoever passed that Common-councell, was to undergoe a second consideration at the next, as their constant custome is) produceth an Order from the House of *Commons*, by which, they were desired to returne such mens names, with whom the City thought fit to intrust the *Militia* of London.

The Court, surprized with so unexpected a Message for the present, not piercing into the reason of it, nor understanding that the Houses were in so great forwardnesse to settle the *Militia*, as afterwards they found they were, nor imagining that the men, whose names they returned, should have absolute power to execute any thing of themselves, but only as a Committee to consult, and prepare, and report to the Common-councell, as the limited power of all Committees is, and, considering that the *Posture of Defence*, and the new *Militia*, though two names, were in effect but one and the same thing, Ordered that the names of the Com-

mittee

mittee, for the *poſture of Defence*, ſhould be ſent to the Houſe in returne to their order. The Intention of the Houſe, (as ſome thinke) in this Meſſage, (though for my part, if I were put to my oath I dare not ſweare it) was, to indeare the City, and to lay an Obligation upon them by giving them power to nominate their owne men: But *Ven* (inſtructed by ſome, that had more wit, but as little honeſty as himſelfe) his purpoſe in the carriage of this buſineſſe was, to make the Lord *Maior*, the *Sheriffes* and *Court of Aldermen*, by their owne voluntary, but Inconſiderate act, to renounce (as it were) their owne Intereſt, and ſo, to place this great power of the *Militia* on the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, whereof the Major part, if not all, were of his owne Faction.

Many dayes had not paſſed, before it was generally knowne, to the great Regret of all Loyall diſcreet men, That the *Militia* of *London*, was put in the hands of the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*. Not long after, a common-Councell was called, at which, when the orders made the laſt meeting, (as the Cuſtome is) were read, at this, many men ſeeing the ſnare, into which unwittingly they had caſt themſelves, beganne to retract, and ſpeake againſt that order, whereby the *committee* for the *Poſture of Defence* were inveſted with the Power of the *Militia*: nay, ſome of the *Aldermen*, whoſe names were returned, for the new *Militia*, utterly proteſted againſt it: affirming, that when they paſſed that Order, they had not the leaſt Intention, to exclude the Lord *Maior*, from having power over the *Militia*, nor had any thought, to place ſo abſolute power in their *Committee*, as (they found) the two Houſes had done: and hereupon, by ſome that ſtood well affected to the *honour*, and *peace* of the *City*, it was earneſtly moved, that the Houſes might be Petitioned to reverſe their Order: but all in vaine, the Faction in the common-Councell being inſtructed by their Leaders, at what advantage they had the City, were reſolved, not to Looſe it, by giving way to ſuch a Motion: but on the Contrary, to make all ſure, *Ven* produceth another order from the *Houſe* of *commons*, That *Skippon*, whom the Committee for the *Poſture of Defence* had aſſociated to *them* for his advice, and aſſiſtance, ſhould, by their Aſſent, be added to the ſame Committe for the *Militia*: which was no ſoo-

ner moved, then assented unto, the Major part of the Common-Councell (who now *rule the roſt*) will have it ſo.

The Court of Aldermen finding (but too too late) that this ſettlement of the *Militia*, would be no ſmall derogation to the *Mairolty* in *particular*, and the *Government* of the City *in generall*; and being out of all hope to find the Commons ready to Ioyne with them, in ſuch a Petition, reſolve (without them) to Petition, that this Order of ſo dangerous Conſequence, might be recall'd, and the *Maior* and *Sheriffes* be nominated of the Committee. To this end Petitions are framed, and delivered, but to no purpoſe, the Lord *Maiors Loyalty* was too well known, to be admitted, to have any ſhare in *that* power *which* was intended to be imployed againſt the *King*.

Notwithſtanding this Repulſe, divers Cittizens, very Conſiderable for their *number*, but more conſiderable for their *Quality* and *abilities*, out of a ſenſe of that great Contempt, and prejudice, which this would bring upon that ancient government, under which their City had ſo long flouriſhed, joyne in a Petition in their owne names, to the two Houſes, to the ſame effect, but with worſe Succeſſe; for the Houſe of Commons, having Information what was in agitation in the City, ſend *Wat: Long* to ſeize on the Petition, and the Subſcriptions, by which meanes, the Names of the Subſcribers being knowne, there wanted not arts to make them retract their owne voluntary act: ſome by perſwaſions, and private ſollicitations, others intimidated by threats, and Menaces, are Compell'd to recant, and becauſe it was a Note of Levity, if not worſe, ſo ſuddenly to proteſt againſt their owne voluntary Act, therefore the *Decoy* to bring on the Reſt, to ſo baſe, ſo unworthy a Revolt, was *Lenthall* the *Speakers* Brother, which Example (he having broke the Ice) was followed by many, that Loved an Ignoble quietneſſe, before freedome with Trouble.

This laſt Petition was that which they call *Benyons Petition*, and indeed Sir *George Benyon* was (and he needs not be aſhamed of it) a Framer, and a chiefe promoter of that moſt reaſonable, moſt equitable Petition: which notwithſtanding was made that *great crime*, that afterwards drew on his Impeachment, and heavy Cenſure in Parliament. In which *ſentence*, the World may

ſee,

ſee, what groſſe Injuſtice, and partiality was uſed by *them*, that would be angry, not to be thought the moſt upright, unblemiſhed *Juſtitiaries* in the world. The *Chriſtmaſſe* before (which we now muſt call *Nativity Tide*) the Lord Major, and the Recorder, were convented before a Committee for obſtructing the Apprentizes Petition, againſt Epiſcopacy, and learned *Peard* (who hath no more Law then what was made this Parliament) ſitting in the Chayre, told them, that, *it was againſt the freedome and Liberty of the Subject, not to permit them (without any Let or Interruption) to preſent their grievances in Paper to the Parliament*. Nay, for feare they ſhould want work, there was an order publiſhed in Print by the *Houſe* of *Commons* to that very purpoſe; yet Sir *George* for making uſe of the ſame *Liberty*, which themſelves had proclaimed, is ſentenced Thus: *Firſt*, fined in three Thouſand pounds. *Secondly*, disfranchized, utterly deprived of the Priviledges of the City. *Thirdly*, never to beare any office in the Kingdome. *Fourthly*, to be committed Priſoner to *Colcheſter* Gaole for two yeares; and *Laſtly*, at the expiration of that terme, to give Security for the *good behaviour*, ſuch, as the Parliament (if they then ſate) ſhould thinke fitting, and in caſe the Parliament were diſſolved, ſuch as the *Lord Keeper*, for the time being, ſhould approve off: how will this *Sentence*, for ever Iuſtifie the ſevereſt, that were ever given, either in the *Star-Chamber*, or *High-Commiſſion*, That did doome a man to ruine, for no other fault, then what themſelves had authorized, and Iudged it againſt the Liberty of the Subject, to oppoſe it, even by their owne Order?

The *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, being by theſe diſhoneſt practices made *Lords of the Militia*, and being armed with as much *power*, as *will*, to ſerve the moſt deſperate, Treaſonable deſignes, which either *Say*, or *Pym* ſhould ſuggeſt, they now goe on without checke, or Controule, and beare downe all before them, that ſtand in their way. On Triviall pretences, or for neceſſary obedience to the Kings Iuſt Commands, they remove honeſt Sir *Richard Gurney* (whoſe name in after Chronicles will outſhine famous *Walworths*, and upbraid this Rebellious City to all poſterity) from the government of the City, and in his place ſubſtitute *Little Iſaack*, rejecting the *Olive*, and advancing

vancing that *Bramble*, out of which, I feare, will come that *fire*, which will consume this seditious City. Now the People are authorized by Ordinances of both Houses, and incouraged and pressed even in point of Conscience, by their Bouteseau Lecturers, to List horses in *More-fields*, send in money and plate to *Guild-Hall* for the service of the *King*, and *Parliament*; and because they would be sure to have an *Orator* in every *Pulpit* to quicken the people, to poure out their wealth Liberally, to further the Rebellion intended, They cause the very dregs, and scumme of every Parish to Petition against the Orthodox Clergy: who being imprisoned, or fled, they sequester their Livings, for the use of their owne Levites: so that at this day, there is not a true *Orthodox* Minister left, freely speaking his Conscience, and exercising his Ministery, in the whole City: so that whatsoever they pretend, that they take up Armes for the defence of the *Protestant Religion*, if they meane the *Protestant Religion* as it is by act of Parliament established in the *church* of *England*, I assure you, *Brother*, were you here, you could no more see a face of the Church of *England*, then you can at *Amsterdam*.

They have not only banished all *decency*, and *Order*, together with the established *Lyturgy* out of our Churches, but instead of the Gospell our new Preachers entertaine their Auditories with newes: (which upon examination prove but fictions and Lyes to blind the People,) or else with bitter invectives against the King and His Government: and as for *Faith*, *Charity*, and *Repentance*, they are laid aside as impertinent arguments, all their exhortations now, are to *Treason* and *Rebellion*: So that (as in the *Holy League* of *France*, as my Author Speakes) *our Pulpits are become the Chaires of Juglers*: Nay, the very Sacraments escape not their Blasphemy and prophanation to these vile purposes: I doubt not but you have heard of M. *Case* his Invitation of the Congregation to the Lords Table, who instead of *you that doe truly and earnestly repent you of your sinnes, and be in Love, and charity with your Neighbours, and intend to lead a new Life; &c.* bespake them thus: *You that have freely and liberally Contributed to the Parliament, for the defence of Gods cause and the Gospells, draw neare.* To the rest he threatned Damnation, as comming unworthily to the holy Sacrament: it were endlesse to write

unto

unto you, (it deſerves ſome mans Labour in particular) to acquaint you, and the Kingdome, with the *Blaſphemies*, *Prophanations*, and *Abſurdities*, which he and his *Brethren in Evill*, vent every day in their Extemporary Prayers, and Sermons.

Yet were all this Treaſon ſet out mix'd with *wit*, or did they preach Rebellion advantag'd, by the alluring helpes of *art* and *Eloqnence*, it might perſwade ſome amongſt us not to turne Recuſants from their Aſſemblies: but they are the *dryeſt*, and the *dulleſt* beaſts that ever peep'd over a *Pulpit*: while theſe remaine in the City, *Rotheram* the *Lecturer*, never needs feare to be heard in his deprecation, that we might never ſee ſuch a famine here in *London*, as was once in *Samaria*, where *an Aſſe's head was ſould for foureſcore pieces of Silver*, Thankes to him and the reſt, we have great plenty here, and while we have ſo many, there is no feare that they will ever riſe to ſo high a price.

But when people are diſpoſed to Rebellion, ſmall helpes will ſerve their Turne, a *Ramm's horne*, is as good as *Shebah's Trumpet*: yet they have one art (and I may not forget it, becauſe it takes much with the people) and it is this, you ſhall have one, and the ſame argument, poſſeſſe moſt of our Pulpits, on the ſame day, the ſame matter, is the Subject, either of their rayling invectives, or Rebellious Exhortations. The undiſcerning multitude, not piercing into this Impoſture, fondly are perſwaded, that this is no leſſe then the *Inſpiration* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, when God knowes, this is no more, then an Intimation given from the *heads* of the *Faction* to *Calamy*, and the *Iunto* that meet at his houſe, from whom their *Emiſſaries* receive directions, what concernes the preſent opportunity, and is neceſſary to be preached, unto the people.

By theſe and the like Arts, 'tis a wonder to ſee, what Forces have been raiſed, what ſummes have been advanced, and poured out, to further this Rebellion; It is the Opinion of very wiſe men amongſt us here, that have obſerved the ſeverall helpes, which this City of *London* hath Contributed to this preſent unnaturall Warre, that they have ſupplyed the Treaſury of the Rebells, with no leſſe, then *Three Milions* of money, and their Army with *threeſcore Thouſand men*, firſt raiſing, then recrewting their mangled, beaten Regiments, *at ſo great Expence both of*

Treasure and Blood hath this Proud unthankefull City beene, to disthrone the King, and ruine the Kingdom.

And that they might not want supplies of men, to keep this Rebellion on foot, they have cancelled, or dispensed with all the *Obligations* and *Tyes* of *Religion*, *Nature*, and *Lawes*; They have given the *Sonne* power not only *without*, but *contrary* to the *Parents* commands to List himselfe, and take entertainment in their Army, the same liberty they have given to *Apprentises*, and *Servants*, to take Armes, not only *without*, but *contrary* to the *command* of their *Masters* and *Mistresses*. How many poore Parents, how many poore Trades-men, nay, how many poor Widdowes, and their distressed Orphans, be here in this City, that had no other *Subsistance* but what was hardly earned, by their *Children*, or *Apprentises* industry, and labour, are now all like to starve, or are necessitated to fly to the *Almes* of the *Parish* (though the poores stock it selfe be invaded and spent in this Warre) while those that fed them, are lost in this unnaturall Rebellion? Nay how many disconsolate Parents have you in the Country, that sent their Children hither to this *City*, and gave great summes with them, to bind them *Apprentises* to Trades, & Manufactures, hoping that hereafter they might live like men, nay, perhaps some of their Mothers, out of an over weaning opinion, might fancy to themselves, hopes, that they might live to see their Sonnes Lord Majors of *London*, (and why not?) that now sit mourning, and wringing their hands, and curse the day not only in which they sent them hither, but in which they were borne, not because they have lost a *Legge* or an *Arme*, or returned maymed, so that all they can hope for is to have entertainment in an Hospitall, and that no longer neither, then till the Kings maimed Souldiers, shall come, and tell them, that, that Charity was never provided for men disabled by fighting against their King, but because they have lost their *lives*, and not only their *lives*, but their *pretious soules* too, dying in a grievous sinne, in the very act of Rebellion? me thinks you in the Country, (if their be any bowels of compassion, yearning over the fruit of your bodies, if there be any *sense* of that *eternall condition* that doth attend them after this life, if there be any hope of the *joyes* of Heaven, or feare of the *Torments* of Hell) should be very sensible of this.

And

And *though* God hath manifeſtly fought *againſt* them, *for* the *King*, giving him victory in many Battailes, when all humane helpes, and advantages were on the Rebells ſide, *though* God hath miraculouſly, and beyond the hope of man reſtored unto Him, the *hearts* of the People, (which the heads of this Rebellion, by ſlanders had ſtolne from Him:) *though* from ſmall, and contemptible beginnings in the eyes of His enemies (few or none ſtanding for him, but God and the juſtice of His Cauſe) God hath proſpered Him into many mighty Armies, which render him formidable to the proudeſt, and ſtouteſt of the Rebells; *though* every *Victory* hath been ſeconded by a tender of *Peace*, and with an overture of *Pacification*, ſo that as himſelfe ſpeaks in that Declaration Publiſhed *July*, 30. 1643. *he could not probably fall under the Scandalous Imputation which hath uſually attended His Meſſages of Peace, that they proceed from the weakneſſe of His Power not love of His People.* Laſtly, *though* like an indulgent Father of Rebellious Children He hath *courted* this *City*, and *Vvooed* it, by many Pardons, many, and often repeated Acts of Grace and Favour to recall us to our former Loyalty, (if ever we were Loyall,) yet, inconſiderate, unthankfull wretches as we are, we overlooke, or ſleight all theſe invitations, for inſtead of returning, we have added this, as the complement of our other Rebellions, that (whether more unthankfully or undutifully I cannot tell) we have caſt dirt in our Soveraignes face, and ſlandered *the footſteps of Gods Annoynted*, as if he were guilty of all thoſe Miſeries, which at this time threaten the ſubverſion of this Nation: we will no longer wound the King *Secretly*, through the ſides of His evill *Counſellors*, or *Cavaleirs*, but charge him *directly*, and *poynt blanke*, as in that moſt ſeditious Declaration, or what ever you will call it, preſented by Sir *David Vvatkins*, and that broken Citizen, out at elbowes, called *Satten Shute*, to the Common-councell, and by them to the remainder of the *Lower-Houſe*; if it be not breach of Priviledge to call it ſo.

How willing have we obeyed every Commandement, except God, and the Kings? *How forward* have we been, to imploy the large Revenues of our ſeverall Companies, and Brotherhoods, (as heretofore to exceſſe, and gluttony, ſo now) to ſupport this, Rebellion? *how ready*, even beyond our Abilities, have we been

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to ſubmit to every *Taxe*, and *illegall Impoſition*, even to the bondage, and ſlavery of *Exciſe*, by which we are not ſo much *Proprietaries* of our owne, as *Stewards*, or *Caſheerers* to the heads of the Rebellion: and all this, to no other end but to keep up the Rebellion: we have not only protected, and ſupported the Kings *Mortall Enemies*, but as much as in us lay, have perſecuted all His *Friends*, or, if but ſuſpected to ſtand well affected to Him, and the Iuſtice of his cauſe; not ſparing the effuſion of *Innocent blood*, as that of M. *Tomkins*, and M. *Chaloner*, which like the blood of *Abel*, calls loud to Heaven for vengeance, on this bloody City, and Queſtionleſſe will in time be heard; For not Content to buy theſe mens bloods with great ſummes of monyes which could not be advanced but on this Condition, that M. *Tomkins*, and M. *Chaloner*, be delivered up to their pleaſure, and murthered for a ſtrange *Conſpiracy* called *Obedience* to the *King*, but being dead, in an unheard off barbarouſneſſe they preſſe into the houſes, where their dead bodyes lay, before their Funeralls, and thinking they could never be *ſure* enough, of ſo great a *guilt*, they will not beleeve that they are dead, unleſſe they force the houſes to ſee the bodies of them whom themſelves had murthered; Inſomuch, that to avoyd further violence and rage of the Citizens, they were faine to ſet open the doores where their bodies lay, and expoſe them to the view of all, that ſo they might glut themſelves with beholding that ſad ſpectacle which themſelves had made.

That the Kings Gratious offers of Peace have been ſleighted, and rejected, with ſcorne, and Contempt, and His Meſſengers that brought them, (contrary to the Law of Armes, and Nations) Impriſoned; *That* thoſe miſerable diſtractions, which have rent, and torne this flouriſhing Kingdome, are ſo farre from being cloſed, that they are rather made wider; *That* the ſword of Warre, ſo long devouring, is not yet ſheathed, except in one anothers bowells, *That* this Kingdome is ſtill made, the Scene of Murthers, Rapines, Oppreſſion, and Plunderings, and, whereon all the horrid acts of rage, and Injuſtice are every day acted, and the Nation put almoſt out of hope, ever to injoy her former Peace, and plenty, is *our* fault and *ours* wholly: Had not the heads of this Rebellion been animated by this City, and Incouraged by promiſes

promiſes of more ſupplyes of men, and Monies, They had long before this, laid downe their Armes, and come with halters about their necks, and caſt themſelves at the Kings feet, ſubmiſſely begging thoſe Pardons, which they have preſumptuouſly rejected: Time was, when the *two Houſes* gave a Law to the *City*, now it is come to that paſſe, that the *City* preſcribe to the *Reliques* of the two Houſes; They muſt not Conclude of *Warre* or *Peace*, without conſulting the *City*, if they doe, they reckon without their Hoſte.

Nay, though *Fairfax* be utterly routed in the *North*, and *William*, once ſirnamed a *Conqueror*, be totally defeated in the *Weſt*, yet they can neither be *perſwaded*, nor *beaten* into thoughts of Peace: on the 20th of *July* laſt, no longer agoe, many Thouſand (as the printed Paper tells you) preferred a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, preſented by M. *Norbury* of the Curſitors office, and *Iohn Hat* an Atturney of *Guild-Hall*; both pernicious men: which as it evidently ſhewes their Obſtinate averſion from Peace, ſo it is the moſt deſperate diveliſh ſlander, that ever yet durſt looke the World in the Face; for firſt they tell the Houſe of Commons, and in them, the World, *That the King without any touch of Conſcience, and in defiance of God, hath raiſed an Army of Papiſts, Outlawes, and Traitors, for the Robbing, Burning, Murthering, and deſtroying of His Religious, Honeſt, and well meaning People*, And then knowing not only their *Intereſt in*, but their *power over* the Houſe of Commons, they doe not ſo much *Petition*, as *Command* them to accept of their aſſiſtance, for the raiſing a new Army, and in expreſſe Termes preſcribe unto them, and limit them to a *Committee* of their owne *nomination*, for the ſeizing and receiving of ſuch Summes, as the *willing* ſhall thinke fit to offer, or they ſhall thinke fit to extort from the *unwilling* for this ſervice: And that you may Iudge of the whole Bunch, by ſome, they name *Pennington* the pretended Lord Major, *Stroad*, one of the five Members, *Harry Martine* Plunder-maſter-Generall, and *Denis Bond* Burgeſſe of *Dorcheſter*, and *Patriarch VVhites* own diſciple, a man of a double Capacity to be a Rebell, and finding themſelves more *alone* in theſe undertakings then they did imagine, like deſperate Traitors, they call on the whole Kingdome, as one man according to the

intent of the late Covenant, to joyne with them in this Rebellion. And having thus taken a course to raise new Forces, on *Saturday* the 29. of *July*, at a *Common Hall*, they Voted Sir *William Waller*, *Generall* of their new intended Army, whom to indeare the more, they interest him in the Government of the City, hoping that being as mad as his Lady, he will hold up the Rebellion, as long as he can, and then be one of the last to runne away: I mean not from *Battle*, for in that he hath shewed himselfe as forward as the foremost, but from *justice*, and the due reward of his disloyalty. By all which it is most evident, that this *Languishing Rebellion* had before this day gasp'd its last and given up the Ghost, had not this *Rebellious City* by its *wealth*, and *Multitudes*, fomented it, and given it life.

If therefore *Posterity* shall aske, who broke downe the bounds, to those streams of blood, that have stained this earth, if they aske, who made Liberty captive, Truth criminall, Rapine just, Tyranny, and Oppression Lawfull, who blanched Rebellion, with the specious pretence of defence of Lawes, and Liberties: Warre with the desire of an established Peace, Sacraledge and Prophanation, with the shew of Zeale, and Reformation: Lastly, if they aske who would have pulled the Crowne from the *Kings* head, taken the government off the hindges, dissolved *Monarchy*, inslaved the *Lawes*, and ruined their *Country*, say, 'Twas the *proud*, *unthankefull*, *Schismaticall*, *Rebellious*, *Bloody City of London*, so that what they wanted of devouring this Kingdome by *cheating* and *couzening*, they mean to finish by the Sword.

That therefore these dangerous *desluctions*, and continuall, (not small *distillations*,) but *floods* of Men, Money, Ammunition, and Armes descending from the *Head City*, and *Metropolis* of the Kingdome, may not for ever *dissolve* the nerves, and *luxate* the Sinewes, of this admirable composed Government: it will highly concerne this Nation, to look about them, to undeceive themselves, and to consult their own *peace* and *safety*; by joyning with their Gratious Soveraigne, in *chastizing* these rebellious insolencies, & reducing this *Stubborn City* either to *Obedience*, or *Ashes*.

Yet, that the World may not think, that this inundation of wickednesse wherein the *Divells* of *Rebellion*, rage in the *Chil-*

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dren of diſobedience, hath involved all of us in the ſame diſloyalty, let not (*good Brother*) the name *Ruſticus* neither deterre you (as if it were a *Soleciſme*) to Tell the *Murthers*, *Robberies*, *Plunderings*, and other *outrages* committed in the *City*, nor deprive us (a handfull of faithfull Subjects in compariſon of the Rebells, the *Puritans*, *Browniſts* and *Anabaptiſts*,) of ſo great an Oportunity, to juſtify our *Innocence*. Let the *Country* know, that we have been at the charges, to undoe, not only them, but our ſelves too, the *Colloſſe* which we have built, is fallen on the *builders*, the *Fire* which we have kindled, devoures the *bellowes* which firſt *blowed* it up, ſome of us repent of our fond *credulity* to be deceived, and fooled by the empty name of a *Parliament*, God graunt it be not too late; yet how ever, let *Poſterity* know this too, that the *King* hath his *Martyrs* in *London*, all are not in the Country; And to make this good, ſecretly (as much as the cloſe obſtructions of the wayes of conveyance will permit) you ſhall not faile of Intellignce from

London, Aug. 5. 1643.

Your affectionate Brother

MERCURIUS CIVICUS.